

DR. BUTLER OFFERS REMEDY FOR UNREST

Menace to American Form of
Government Seen in In-
dustrial Strife.

REASON CALLED GUIDE

Drop Academic Theories and
Settle Labor Problems by
Common Sense, He Says.

"Must the American form of government commit suicide in order to give to industry better and more satisfactory organization?"

This is the question, Nicholas Murray Butler believes, that lies at the bottom of the labor problem now so severely vexing every community. The president of Columbia University, in his address yesterday before the Institute of Arts and Sciences, answered the query by saying that if the American form of government commits suicide it will make no difference to any one whether industry is better organized and conducted or not, for might will deprive right and chaos will rule.

But Dr. Butler does find a broad and not too difficult path toward national safety, prosperity and tranquility out of the jungles and swamps of labor agitation, capitalist injustice and Socialist experiment, and he names the path "reasonableness." He maintains that when the real labor problem, the actual relations of the workers with the employers and the public, is examined from the standpoint of common sense and practical experience, and when a lot of dangerous academic nonsense is dropped then it will not be hard to find a steady basis for cooperation.

Cooling Called Need.

Dr. Butler suggests also that the time must come when the world will look upon industrial conflicts, such as great strikes, as apprehensively and as distressful as upon wars, and that hereafter as much time and thought must be spent upon means of arbitrating and conciliating the disputes and dispiriting of the industrial field as is now spent in attempting to pacify humanity permanently.

He began his address before the institute by uttering a frank warning: He said that from numberless openings in the crust of the political and economic world, explosions are growing more numerous and louder, explosions that mark the presence of hidden and heated forces of destruction.

"So many and so manifest are the evidences of this possibility," said Dr. Butler, "so emphatic and so widespread are the warnings of the presence of powerful forces of destruction, so constant and so manifold are acts in contempt alike of law and of social obligation, that we can only wonder at the levity of those who go their daily way without stopping even to reflect whether they may have any daily way to go a short time hence."

The situation confronting this country, and even more markedly perceptible in Great Britain and Italy, is known generally as the industrial or labor problem. Dr. Butler explained, but he found much more to it than that. He was satisfied that it included questions striking down to the foundations of civil society and national existence. He noted too the helpless and disadvantageous position of a sixth of a population, labor and capital and cannot possibly realize anything from the victories or defeats of either.

Explanation of Condition.

Then Dr. Butler presented this succinct explanation for the disturbed conditions now existing: "Matters were at about this point when the storm of war broke over the world. More or less quickly, and in some cases even with considerable dif-

fruity, old time ideals such as love of liberty, patriotism and zeal to defend the weak against attack by the strong, overrode the obstacles to national effort and international co-operation which the economic and industrial struggle would otherwise have created. Because of the free world's lack of preparation for the attack made upon it, the war had to be carried on at immense cost. This immense cost, together with the constant pressure of war emergencies, entailed not only waste but colossal extravagance. These in turn led to an unhealthy expansion of credit and an undue inflation of currency. Prices quickly rose and money, or tokens of money, became relatively more plentiful than either goods or services.

"When the storm of war ceased the outstanding facts throughout the world were the high cost of living and the inability of men to resume their old mode of living of life at the old compensations. Quickly unrest and dissatisfaction began to spread like a contagious disease, and spreading they prepared the soil in readiness to receive any unwholesome, mad or destructive political seed which might be sown. Those enemies of order, of liberty and of progress who are always present, and who seem able to secure a moment of public attention wholly out of proportion to either their ability or their importance, redoubled their activities and have been openly or covertly urging social and industrial revolution from platform, from pulpit and from press.

"The result of all these manifestations and developments is that what used to be called the labor question or the industrial problem has entirely changed its form. The real labor problem, as it now presents itself to the people of the United States, is this: "Can the nation's industries be so organized and administered as to bring to the service of industry the well tested principles and ideals of political democracy, without overturning the foundations of the Republic and without destroying the only guarantees on which order, liberty and progress can possibly rest?"

Solution of Unrest Problem.

To this question Dr. Butler returned the answer, "Yes," and proceeded to develop his theory of the employment of reasonableness and cooperation to solve the real labor problem. He made the interesting comment that the beginning of the steel strike read strangely like the beginnings of the European war, the ultimatum of Fitzpatrick and of Foster strongly resembling the ultimatum of Count Berchtold, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg or Minister von Jagow, and the world did not appear to realize that the Fitzpatrick and Foster ultimatum contained far more seeds of danger both to Europe and to America than the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia contained. It was very necessary, Dr. Butler said, for the world to take a new view of these labor conflicts, classing them with actual wars, and those who work with their brains and those who work with their hands—all alike essential to the productive industry. Dr. Butler proceeds, then, to work out his belief that reasonableness and cooperation will solve the real labor problem.

He finds that one great trouble with the present situation is that too many people have been speaking and thinking of labor and capital as more abstractions, struggling in some inevitable way over the division of the product of industry, a method of thought false and dangerous, for it does not see that any industrial process is an enterprise in human cooperation, bringing together three different kinds or sorts of cooperating human beings—those who work with their hands, those who work with their brains, and those who work with their savings—all alike essential to the productive industry. Dr. Butler proceeds, then, to work out his belief that reasonableness and cooperation will solve the real labor problem.

"When the point has been made clear that industry is a cooperative enterprise, then it follows that those who work with their brains and those who work with their hands are entitled to take part in the organization and direction of the industry and to have a voice in determining the conditions under which their cooperation shall be given and continued. This principle can readily be applied without interfering with the effectiveness of skilled and responsible management. The policy of reasonableness will carry us a step further.

Plans for Divisions.

"The industry so conceived and so organized will have to sell its product at a price that will enable it to pay to those who work with their hands a thoroughly satisfactory wage, to those who work with their brains an appro-

priate salary, and to those who work with their savings a definite minimum return based upon the current value of money. As the wages and the salaries must be paid in any event, it is interest or dividends upon savings which must bear the brunt of any shortage in net income. The cost of depreciation and replacement is also to be met. When all these have been provided for, whatever remains is profit. Reasonableness indicates that this profit should not go to one group alone of the three who cooperate in production, but should be apportioned between all three groups in accordance with a plan drawn to meet the facts of a given industry.

"If, on the other hand, there be a loss instead of a profit, or a deficiency in the amount needed to meet all of the items just stated, the amount of that deficiency is met as matters now stand by those who work with their savings alone. There is merit in the suggestion that a given industry should in years of prosperity establish an undistributed reserve fund against that might subsequently be incurred."

Then Dr. Butler warned earnestly against the subtle, false propaganda so well financed from mysterious sources that no special respect is due to loyalty, and that the strike may be used to enforce the views and wishes of a small minority of the population; and he said that the American form of government will come to an end when public servants imitate the treason practiced by the Boston police force. He emphasized that there must be loyalty to the State for the reason that only through loyalty to the State can our other loyalties have any meaning or importance. He closed with this: "To solve the real labor problem then we must think straight and clear regarding facts of industry, and think straight and clear regarding principles of political organization. Continued industrial progress and far reaching industrial reform are easily possible, and indeed, in my view, are only possible if the principles and ideals on which and for which the American people have been building for a century and a half are maintained and strengthened. Moreover, we must shun and take active steps to limit the influence of those who foment unrest and organize industrial war and who thrive upon this process.

These are public enemies and the hand workers' meaneat friends. "From the very active company of those who would not hesitate to tear down or to overthrow the Government of the United States in order to attain their immediate personal or group ends there has not come a single suggestion which does not spell destruction. Not one of those who claim to represent these movements and tendencies has proposed to build up anything. They are all bent upon destruction in the wild hope that after their joy in tearing down has had full satisfaction, somewhere and somehow personal advantage may accrue to them. In the process they would not hesitate to destroy America."

147 CITIES OF 227 SHOW LOSS IN 1918

New York Among 80 to Report Excess Revenues.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13.—Governmental expenditures for the 227 American cities of more than 30,000 population for the fiscal year of 1918 exceeded revenues by \$48,600,930, or \$14.2 per capita. A report, made by Sam L. Rogers, director of the census, shows that only eighty of the 227 cities had excess of revenues over their expenditures, the excess totaling \$22,228,060, or \$11.60 per capita, while for the remaining 147 cities expenditures exceeded revenues by \$70,372,870, or \$22.60 per capita.

Among the cities in which revenues exceeded all expenditures are New York, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Washington, Portland and Denver. The aggregate population of these 227 cities was estimated at 33,300,000, or nearly 33 per cent. of the total population of the country.

Except for revenues derived from the general property tax, the liquor traffic is shown by the report to have been the largest single item of taxes totaling \$35,576,853, though smaller by \$1,498,900 than the sum reported for the fiscal year 1917. The entire indebtedness of the 227 cities amounted to \$2,661,451,218, or \$77.53 per capita.

POLICE UNIONS ARE ATTACKED IN HOUSE

Activity of A. F. of L. in
Aiding Organization Tar-
get of Speeches.

Special Dispatch to The Sun.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13.—The House today by an overwhelming vote went on record against policemen of American cities. Joining labor organizations and leaving the American people and their property at the mercy of the criminal element by engaging in strikes.

After a bitter denunciation of the recent policemen's strike in Boston and efforts to organize the police officers elsewhere the House by a vote of 222 to 8 approved the bill granting increased pay to policemen of the District of Columbia, but added a proviso that any men of the force who join labor unions or other similar organizations shall be dismissed immediately.

The bill gives the approval of the House to the stand taken by Gov. Coolidge of Massachusetts in refusing to reinstate policemen who deserted their posts on the orders of labor leaders. This was emphasized by Representative Gould (N. Y.), one of the framers of the bill, when he declared it would serve "as a note of warning and advice from the Congress of the United States to State and municipal officers throughout the country who are faced by a similar menace."

One of the significant features of the debate was that many members considered friends of labor openly denounced the plan of the American Federation of Labor to organize the policemen of the country and stage strikes against the public safety. It was an indication that the country has been aroused to the seriousness of such moves and through its representatives is fighting back.

Labor Spokesman Opposed.

Even Representative Nolan (Cal.),

generally considered the labor spokesman of the House, did not defend the organization of the policemen. He asked that action on the section providing for the discharge of officers who join labor unions be delayed until after the industrial conference. Representative Garland (Pa.), a union labor man, spoke against the section, saying it deprived the policemen of their constitutional rights.

One of the features of the debate was an attack on labor's radical tendencies by the Texas delegation. Representative Black, Bee, Connelly, Blanton and Gardner, all of that State, urged drastic action by the Government along this line, some of them thinking the provision was not strong enough.

Linee Joe Cannon declared the public sentiment of the country was strongly against such organization. Representative Quin (Miss.) compared the striking policemen to deserting soldiers. Representative Garrett (Tenn.) amid applause, said the country is looking to the Federal Government to uphold the laws in every respect. Others who spoke for the provision were Webster (Wash.), Kitchin (N. C.), Denison (Ill.) and Hurling (Pa.).

Mr. Gould in his speech attacked the syndicalist activities of William Z. Foster, steel strike leader, and the present longshoremen's strike at New York.

Quotes Foster's Writings.

"Do you know," said Mr. Gould, "what the movement to organize the police of this country means when translated into terms of syndicalism? Let me quote you a brief passage from an authority on the subject. Mr. William Z. Foster, who having written as a syndicalist that the natural course of evolution for a labor movement is gradually from the conservative to the revolutionary," has become a leading figure in the American Federation of Labor and says:

"They (syndicalists in every country) are teaching working class soldiers to shoot their own officers and to desert the army when the crucial moment arrives."

"The policeman is the doughboy of peace, the 'working class soldier' of law and order arrayed against the constant attack of criminal classes and lawless movements of unrest and malcontent. He has no more right to desert when

his 'crucial moment arrives' than has the khaki clad soldier to abandon his arms on the eve of battle. 'Soldier' and 'policeman' are but classifying terms; both designate public servants, warriors for the defenders of the laws and institutions of their country; both fight under one flag. The soldier protects from aggression from without; the policeman from aggression from within.

"The battle of the policeman is the harder and the more vital because it is never ending, his enemies are never still, his campaign knows neither truce nor armistice, neither final victory nor so far in this country, thank God, final defeat. And the more constant the success of the policeman in keeping strong and firm our national institutions of democratic government the less frequently is the soldier called upon for the bloody and costly battle against aggression from outside our borders.

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and the corduroy in our better suits is of a quality which prompts the manufacturer to put his name on it. The coat is lined with fine quality alpaca, trousers lined throughout. Price \$9.74.

One day recently, a department manager of another big department store came into the Boys' section and asked for a suit and an overcoat for his son.

Both father and son pleased

A suit and an overcoat to please both father and son were quickly produced and the price tags more than pleased the father.

"You get a discount, I believe, in the store where you are employed," remarked our salesman.

"That's all right," was the reply. "I understand that. But I get my boy's clothing here just the same!"

The answer is plain

Now if a man who knows as much about the stock in his own store as one of the store's department managers must know prefers to spend his money at Macy's rather than in his own store, what's the answer for the general run of folks?

It's too easy to call for further explanation. By the way the store which advertised the corduroy suits at \$9.75 also advertised boys' raincoats at \$3.75 and referred to them as a rare bargain.

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